2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labreta, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top;* 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left;* 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

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114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
487 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo: and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us: it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[71] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

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women, relatively. Women relatively wider in biacromial. Aráras -- The dimensions of the male type are smaller in relation to those of the women. Women narrow in hip and wide biacromial."

and has less muscular strength than the man, besides being 462 hindered by menstruation and by maternity. Upon investi- 482 gating more rigorously, however, one discovers that, with the exception of a few tribes of agriculturalists, such as, for example, the Tapirapé, the woman has tasks no less heavy than the man, for example, that of carrying loads [434] on the marches. Among the Bororo the woman is even capable of carrying heavier loads than the man, and, because of this, in the tasks of harvesting at the missions she often earns more than he does.

462 22 It is also a mistake to think that among the Indians the woman exclusively is dedicated to harvesting the wild plant food and to agriculture. Both sexes collect all the comestibles that they find, although among the hunting peoples the women busy themselves preferably with the harvesting of vegetables, which represent the most important food and which can be obtained more regularly, while the men endeavor to supply the meat. [241] [171] The agriculture, however, among many tribes -- (and in the greater part of the tribes that I visited) -- is almost exclusively a task of the /141/ man, and the woman participates, in some of these tribes, for example among the Tapirapé, only in the tillage itself with the digging stick, that is, in the task of putting into the soil the seed grains, maize, cotton, or earthnuts, but not that of turning the earth and of planting tubers, such as manioc and cará /yam/, or of planting bananas, etc.

5: Baldus--47 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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11. Eastern Bororo: little family with the Padre Director in Meruri

12. Eastern Bororo: married couple returning from hunting (Meruri)

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7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

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BORORO WOMAN ADORNED WITH FEATHERS

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BORORO METHOD OF CARRYING WITH HEAD STRAP

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

her specie. While the man, on the contrary, fierce and war- 462
like in his nature, has busied himself from time immemorial making deadly weapons, fighting and slaughtering. The woman was the first farmer, the first miller, the first potter and basket maker, the first dressmaker and tailor, the first beast of burden, and some men think the first ecclesiastic; while the man was the first murderer.

Every morning, small parties of Bororó females, unarmed, 222
may be seen going forth in various directions with huge bas- [482]
kets on their backs, suspended by bark straps from their fore- [854]
heads, to explore jungle and forest in search of fruits and vegetables, many of them reaching out eight or ten miles from home, and returning late in the day carrying one hundred fifty or more pounds of goose-egg cocoanuts, hearts of dwarf palms, wild potatoes, and other food material, and perhaps also, transporting a child three or four years old which sits in the loop of a bark strap that passes over the mother's shoulders. If the man should return, empty handed, from a hunting or fishing expedition, he nevertheless requires, Esau-like, that at least a "mess of pottage" should await him.

The Bororó female is betrothed, or, more correctly, is con- 582
tracted for in infancy, and married when she reaches the age 584
of ten or twelve years. If she is not married, or at least spoken 839
for, ere she reaches the age of twelve or fourteen years, she will be seized, unawares, some day, dragged to the great hut, and forced to become a victim to the lusts of all the men of the village. It is a terrible ordeal for the poor, helpless creature, and she is nearly, if not altogether done to death at times. Her parents, though they may grieve for her, do not, or dare not, attempt to rescue her. Her assailants will not enter the parental hut to take her. They have, evidently, some idea of the sanctity, or the inviolability of the private residence. But they catch her by stealth when she is outside the family hut. Be- [584]
cause of this hideous custom, parents earnestly desire that their daughters should at least be contracted for when still very young. I was told that they are often contracted for when but a few days, or a few months old.

853 children climb the mother's leg to nurse. She does not appear to take any more notice of her child at such times than does a 162 mother goat her kid. Bororó families are small. I did not see a mother with more than three children. The *mêdo* are usually 593 faithful to their wives; that is, they seldom desert them, especially if they have children. At rare intervals, one becomes 586 dissatisfied with his *arêda* and drives her from his hut, then leaving home himself, goes to reside in some other village of the tribe.

578 Fights between two *mêdo* are not uncommon, owing, nearly always, to one meddling with the *arêda* of the other. The fight is precipitated by the outraged husband, as he perhaps sits at work in his hut, beginning to express his opinion of the other *mêdo*, and to hurl at him offensive epithets. The other *mêdo*, sitting in his hut at the opposite side of the cluster of huts, responds loudly with interest. As they become more and more enraged, they challenge each other to fight, prepare themselves and come out of their huts, and finally meet on the village playground; and every *mêdo*, *arêda*, and *naragêdo*—child—in the local horde abandons at once every occupation and forms a circle around the combatants, for an event of this kind is considered the finest kind of sport and not to be missed on any account. This is a go-as-you-please encounter; there are no rules, except that the dualists do not use deadly weapons. So they roll and tumble, and kick, and punch, and bite, and scratch one another, having the poisonous spine of the fish called sting-ray, armed to their little fingers, and bellow and roar continually, like fiends. Their powers of endurance are marvelous, and the combat often continues many hours. Finally, one is vanquished, and he leaves the village and the *arêda* in question to the victor, and takes up his residence in a distant village of [674] the tribe. The Bororó rarely murder one another.

142 The Bororó women are nearly as large and scarcely less 147 muscular than the men, and can carry heavy loads great distances, having been inured to this from childhood. When a 484 family moves from one village to another, or goes forth on a 482 two or three months' hunting and fishing expedition during the 462

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

dry season, the *arèda* carries all the family effects, and perhaps also a child four or five years old, while her lord marches a few paces in advance of her, carrying only his bow and arrows, and perhaps also a fire-brand. The party makes but short marches, however, halting frequently to rest for an hour or two around the little fire which they always kindle, and to roast and eat a bit of meat, if they should have it, or to nibble some vegetable food.

Some of the Rio Negro savages, mentioned by Wallace, subject their females to a terrible ordeal when they approach womanhood. At the first sign of puberty, the poor, innocent maiden is placed in seclusion in the family hut where she is kept a month and allowed only a small quantity of one kind of food, and water, as if she had committed a crime. When the time of her imprisonment is about to end, all the relatives and friends of the family are assembled, each of whom brings a yard or two of the stalk of a heavy climbing plant to use as a lash. The unhappy girl is now brought into their presence, entirely naked, and each and every person strikes her five or six heavy blows across the back and breast with his lash. Usually, she falls unconscious under this awful castigation, and sometimes dies. If she recovers, the flogging is repeated four or five times at intervals of about six hours. Each guest must strike hard, for it is considered an insult to the parents of the victim not to do so. Finally, when the castigation terminates, pots of various kinds of fish and game which have been prepared, are set before the company, into which each person dips his lash and passes it to the wretched girl to lick. She is now considered a woman, and may eat anything she wishes, or marry. Boys approaching manhood are subject to a somewhat similar ordeal, but not so severe, which initiates them into man's estate and allows them to witness the playing of the mystery instruments, which correspond to the roarer among the Bororó, and also to marry.

Among these savages, marriages seldom occur between relatives or near neighbors, but the swain seeks a wife at a distant village of his tribe, or even from another tribe. Having

/474 cont./

291 exaggerated. According to Langsdorff's description, however, the belt seems to be the main thing, since strands hung down freely and there was no band to be fastened to it. The observer himself does not believe that its purpose was concealment. There was very little of this likewise among our Bororó women, and, as far as their modesty is concerned, it remained not only partly, but entirely concealed, or more accurately, the very opposite of it was present and, quite apart from the dissoluteness of the Brazilian civilizers, was present in large measure to begin with. All things considered, I regard it as not impossible that the wide [482] belt of bark or tapir skin originally had a different purpose. The women carried home from the forest back-baskets so heavily loaded with palm nuts that they seemed almost to collapse under the load and were unable to walk, but only to trip along; moreover, the end of the back-basket rested in the small of the back on the strip of belt and the latter protected the skin here just as the bast ring protected the shoulders of the Kulisehu Indians in the transport of canoes. A piece of tapir skin, especially, must have served excellently as padding. Meanwhile, however, it had turned into a pretentious, tightly clasped armor.

304 The ear lobes were pierced in the case of both sexes, but among [852] the boys this was done by the father at the age of eight to ten years when they were beginning to practice hunting skills seriously and among the girls, as we shall see, it was done with an entirely different meaning by their future husbands.

[619] The pierced lower lip was the tribal mark of the men. I have told how our Antonio, whom a woman claimed as her stolen /475/ 301 son, was examined for this. Waehneldt says of the Bororó of the Jaurú that some of them also wear a sort of "toothpick" /Figs. 130-132 appear here/ in the nasal septum; an ornament of pieces of wood was found in the pierced lower lip on a number of them. In their everyday life our Bororó never wore anything at all in the hole of the lower lip. Only boys, cf. Fig. 128 /see p. 571/, were in the habit of using small sticks which kept the hole open; one saw bone splinters, for example, from the cayman, occasionally a nail, and sticks of resin with a little button at the end inside the mouth. Adults, for festive ornamentation, wore sticks of the

/482 cont./

226 tree before they plunged under, and afterwards they spat them
147 out again. They caught fish under water. He knew of one man
824 who remained in the depths for about an hour and came back
276 "with an armful of pintados."

484 It is certain that the Bororó liked to stay in the water. One saw those returning from the hunt appear in the river one or two kilometers above the colony and travel the distance by swimming or wading up to their necks in water, instead of choosing the land route and merely swimming across. One could hear them laugh-
[482] ing and talking far off; they would follow one another in pairs a short distance apart, all uniformly holding their bows straight up, like crosses, at the top of which the bunches of arrows were tied horizontally, and carrying the captured animals on their chests or under their arms.

482 The women who brought the heavily loaded baskets full of palm nuts and roots or huge bundles of long palm leaves for /483/ roof and house wall likewise swam home. They tied the carrying baskets to pieces of wood, four to each piece, and guided them with ropes, like the pelota (cf. p. 139 /untranslated/). The carrying baskets were carried on the back in a bast loop which ran across the forehead or the front of the head.

501 The Bororó did not have any canoes. They called the vessels of the Brazilians íka -- the same word that they used for branches and twigs (not tree trunks: ipó) such as they were in the habit of tying together to form small rafts for the transportation of loads.

231 Dogs, which we imagine to be indispensable to the primitive hunter, from the example of our forefathers, were absent among the Bororó, not only in their original home, but even now they were scarcely ever used, although they could easily have been available to them in large numbers.

000 Later I shall be in a position to discuss the distribution of hunting booty.

411 Weapons. Bows and arrows represented the highest development of techniques and were fashioned with extraordinary neatness and precision. Here one could see most clearly that, if only there is interest, there will be no lack of achievement. Except for the